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AUTHOR Reisner, Ann E.
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ABSTRACT

Using conversational analytic techniques, a study examined how and where editors placed news stories on the inner pages of newspapers. The editors of a Midwestern afternoon newspaper (30,000 circulation) with a strong liberal/progressive tradition had 10 of their conferences taped and transcribed. The transcripts were analyzed to isolate those regular, recurring features of the story descriptions that include both describing newsworthiness categories and looking for places where editors directly orient to these categories. Results indicated that editors systematically used four major criteria in news placement: (1) proximity; (2) conflict; (3) impact; and (4) definiteness. Findings suggest that editors' sense-making practices allow them to preserve the ideology of objective news judgment in placing stories, while obscuring representational biases in the story selection. (Thirty-one footnotes and three tables of data are included; 96 references, an explanation of transcript conventions and a transcript are attached.) (RS)

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# Between the Sheets:

# Determining the Professional Codes Editors Use

# to Arrange Stories on Newspaper Pages

# (A Case Study)

Ann E. Reisner
Agricultural Communications
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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## Introduction

For decades, scholars have assumed that reading the Times (and other newspapers) has more impact than turning tens of millions of fingertips black. During the past 15 years, researchers have demonstrated over a wide range of items, publics, and time periods that the mass media indirectly affect the public agenda. Television and newspapers do not necessarily tell people what to think, but (with some qualifications) the media define the relative importance of various issues (Rogers et al., 1988).[1] These demonstrations that the media affect the public agenda add weight and urgency to the media's normatively prescribed role to educate and inform their readers about activities in the public sphere. Even the most diametrically opposed theorists have argued that, for a democracy to operate, the news media should report a variety of viewpoints on a range of issues important to the citizenry as a whole, although the theorists differ in their assessments of how successfully the media fulfill this role. While activist theorists argue that the news media systematically frame news to favor the most powerful groups in society, pluralist theorists argue that the news media do not systematically bias news in any one direction.

To look at bias and how it could enter and be maintained in the news chains, researchers have examined a wide range of societal-, organizational- and individual-level constraints, attitudes and forces. Most of this research concerns news story selection and story newsworthiness: how journalists select news out of the infinite number of events in the world (eg., Molotch & Lester, 1975, Halloran, Elliott & Murdock, 1970, Tuchman, 1978, Sigal, 1973, Epstein, 1973), what stories appear in the papers out of the range of stories that could

potentially appear (Stemple III, 1985, Cohen, 1975) and what criteria journalists use to make such a selection (eg., Shoemaker, Danielson, & Brenglinger, 1988, Tuchman, 1978, Hall, Connell & Carti, 1977).

Relatively little research has been done on news placement, although how stories are positioned on newspaper pages is also an important aspect of studying news. Newspaper readers are far more likely to read front-page stories than stories on any other page of the newspaper (Media Book, 1978), and story placement is an important indicator of newspaper policy (Breed, 1955, Altheide, 1985, Hall, 1975).[2] The purpose of this paper is to examine how editors arrange news on the inner pages of newspapers. Using conversational analysis as a methodological technique, I show that editors systematically use four major criteria: proximity, conflict, impact, and definiteness. I suggest that editors' sense-making practices allow them to preserve the ideology of objective news judgment in placing stories, while obscuring representational biases in the story selection.

## Literature Review

Three major theoretical traditions (discussed below) have produced (at least) two fundamentally contradictory conceptualizations of the major codes/factors/norms/values that establish newsworthiness.[3] The first conceptualization, most clearly and consistently articulated by the Cultural Studies theorists, is that news reproduces the dominant social codes and thematic representations of the most powerful groups in society (the hegemonic perspective from the activist theorists).[4] The second conceptualization is that news, while not totally reflective of the vast range of potential viewpoints, is a product of various factors, including traditional news norms and values, which could allow various thematic ranges (ideologies) to appear in news outlets

(pluralist perspective).

Hegemonic Theorists

The fundamental difference between the notion of hegemonic codes and the notion of news norms (also variously called news values and news factors) is that the former is normatively active. The hegemonic codes are systems of representation that construct an organized coherent formulation of society, its operation, and its structure, and are both descriptions of how society is and how it ought to be. News draws on and reproduces these codes (Gurevitch, et al., 1982, Tuchman, 1978, Cohen & Young, 1980, Glasgow University Media Group, 1976, 1982, Gitlin, 1980, Connell, 1980, Herman & Chomsky, 1988) in such a way that some interests are favored over others: Nonfeminist (traditional) definitions of an event will be preferred over feminist definitions (Tuchman, 1978), the state's definitions over radical definitions (Cohen & Young, 1980, Gitlin, 1980), homosexuality as deviant over homosexuality as an acceptable life style choice (Cohen & Young, 1980, Watney, 1987), and manufacturers' interests over those of workers (Glasgow University Media Group, 1982).[5] These dominant codes share three important characteristics: (a) they are representational in that they purport to signify a "real" object; (b) they are thematic in that they set the overall angle or slant of a story; and (c) they are directional in that the representations are connected to issues of good or bad, acceptable or not, the way things are or the way things could be changed.[6]

Journalists adopt these hegemonic codes in the first stage of defining newsworthiness, that is in defining the topic and theme of news stories. They then use relatively independent codes and practices to take information gathered from sources and transform that

information into an acceptable form for the news hole (Hall, 1972).[7] Balance, impartiality, objectivity, professionalism (Hall, 1974), extraordinariness (Hall et al., 1977, Gitlin, 1980), elite persons, dramatic (Hall et al., 1977, Hall, 1972), personalized or sentimental events (Hall et al., 1977), timeliness (Hall, 1972) -- the more traditional news values -- help to transform material into stories. They also obscure the power of the hegemonic codes, precisely because the professional codes give journalists technical and procedural power over the form of news.[8] The hegemonic theorists do not specify whether placement could be a third transformational stage using different criteria than those utilized on individual stories or whether the same configuration of the professional codes operate in placing stories. They do argue that traditional news values are not written down or codified (Hall et al., 1977) but are absorbed as journalists are socialized into news culture.[9]

Organizational Theorists

Constraints and Sense-Making. Those theorists who concentrate on studying the news organization as a whole start with the organization's limited resources and constraints of budget, time and manpower (Epstein, 1973). These resource constraints, coupled with the organization's need to have a steady supply of news, force organizations to place reporters in predetermined sites that are most likely to generate news (Tuchman, 1978, Sigal, 1973, Roshco, 1975). Within these constraints, news production is a consensual process between newsworkers, and newsworkers and news sources. Reporters share conceptualizations of what should be important news with the groups with which they interact on a regular basis (Roshco, 1975, Dunwoody, 1981, Crouse, 1973, Fishman, 1980), and journalists within newsrooms

share news production routines and frames (Roshco, 1975, Epstein, 1973, Altheide, 1974, Sigal, 1973, Gans, 1979). While researchers who study the news organization selectively emphasize different aspects of the news process,[10] overall most agree that the structure of news reflects the economic and social forces that "control the social order and shape its values" (Roshco, 1975, Tuchman, 1978). However, some emphasize that the representations of dominant values derive from shared orientations between dominant groups and editors (Gans, 1979, Altheide, 1974), and some emphasize that placement of sources and reliance on government authority (Sigal, 1973, Tuchman, 1978, Herman & Chomski, 1988) leads to such dominance.[11]

While these researchers generally agree that journalists claim that their work is guided by news values, they have various interpretations of how these values affect news production. Sigal (1973) and Gans (1979) call news values "orientations" or guideposts that journalists use to construct individual news stories. Their view of news values as orientation implies that journalists routinely use news values to select and process news. However the researchers' lists do not clearly distinguish between representational[12] and traditional values,[13] nor do they distinguish between these two types of news values in journalists' practices. Lester (1980) argues that news values (such as conflict) are organizational devices that journalists use to construct, define, and justify a story's newsworthiness <u>for a given stage</u> in the news process. In her explanation, news values are simply a part of journalists' repertory of devices to make their work appear reasonable, rational, and normatively accountable; thus news values have no <u>a priori</u> explanatory power.[14] Tuchman's work (1978), which stresses the importance of news routines,[15] also implies a third

perspective, namely that news values (such as conflict) are an artifact of the places where journalists gather news. For example, placing reporters at specific news sites, such as police stations or the White House, automatically favors news with conflict and known names.

None of these notions of values, routines or shared story types satisfactorily explains how journalists decide to place stories in the news hole. They provide no clear mechanism for deciding between stories, a process that placement requires. Furthermore the different conceptualizations of news values also imply two different mechanisms of news flow. First, the news process is a series of filters that remains relatively unaltered from stage to stage. Second, each stage of the news process requires different transformational efforts -- using one set of frames for interacting with sources, one set of frames for deciding and encoding stories, and (potentially) a third set for deciding placement.

Factors theorists

A third perspective of the news process assumes that a limited number of factors determine and define newsworthiness. The first project, primarily researched in the 1960s and 1970s (Ward et al., 1973, Ludeman, 1975, Ward & Badii, 1980, Clyde & Buckalew, 1969, Buckalew, 1969), sought to determine which factors underlay news selection.[16] In a series of Q-sort studies, in which the researchers forced journalists to select between experimentally constructed stories, the researchers found that journalists systematically selected stories with the following factors over stories without these factors: known principles (Ward et al., 1973, Ludeman, 1975, Ward & Badii, 1980, but see Clyde & Buckalew, 1969, Buckalew, 1969), high significance/impact (Ward et al., 1973, Ludeman, 1975, Ward & Badii,

1980, Clyde & Buckalew, 1969, Buckalew, 1969), conflict and oddity (Ward et al., 1973, Ward & Badii, 1980, Clyde & Buckalew [conflict only, 1969], proximity (Clyde & Buckalew, 1969), and visual value (Buckalew, 1969). Their model was also additive: editors selected stories with several high factors over stories with only one factor. According to this model, journalists use these factors to determine news flow at each stage of the process. By implication, then, representational values do not affect news production, and placement is similar to selection (Ward et al., 1973).

The next project, started in the early 1960s, looks for factors that systematically bias news reports, primarily international coverage. The results from this project are somewhat mixed, but they generally indicate that the media report more news stories on countries that are closer to the US (Adams, 1986, but see Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984), culturally relevant counties[17] (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984, Peterson, 1979, Adams, 1986, but see Gaddy & Tanjong, 1986), elite countries (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, Peterson, 1979, Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984), countries with economic affiliation with the US (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1988, Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984, but see Adams, 1986), or political affiliations with the US (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1988, but see Adams, 1986), events that report sensationally negative, unexpected events (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, Peterson, 1979), or events that include negative social change or are normatively deviant (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1988).

While the factors found in these studies are more explicitly related to specific types of content than the factors described by the previous group, the nature of this project, based on content analysis studies, is such that these researchers do not directly examine page

placement as produced by journalists. The researchers do not consider representation themes; they provide no clear explanation of how journalists place stories; and they do not examine selection processes directly. However, while the earliest model in this tradition (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) suggests that the selection process remains the same from selection point to selection point along the news wire, Kariel and Rosenvall's (1984) study of wire-service journalists suggests that journalists who are reporting from foreign countries have slightly different story patterns than journalists who interact regularly with home offices.

The three major research perspectives collectively offer no clear coherent description of news values. Within the organizational approach, the researchers who study how journalists operate in practice differ widely on how journalist use values, what the major values are, and whether this use varies from stage to stage. Furthermore, researchers have not systematically examined page placement as a phenomenon of interest in itself. The goal of this paper is to fill the latter gap through an examination of a editors conference and to add to the overall literature on how news values operate.

## Methodology

Editors arrange the newspaper pages working alone at their desks. However, at the news conference, editors verbally present descriptions of newsworthiness from a list of story candidates and decide which of the story candidates will be the front-page stories of the day (Tuchman, 1978, Sigal, 1973). The news conference is the one point in the news process where journalists routinely and regularly report story candidates and decide between various story descriptions. These descriptions are an ideal data pool to examine how journalists

encode page placement (Tuchman, 1978).

Conversational analysis, a naturally grounded technique (Maynard, 1984, Zimmerman, 1988, Heritage, 1984)[18] that relies heavily on detailed transcripts of naturally occurring phenomenon, has been used extensively to examine conversations for regularly recurring patterns (eg., newsworthiness descriptions). Conversational analysts assume (an assumption supported by a wide range of studies) that naturally gathered data, such as conversations in organizations (Whalen and Zimmerman, 1987, Zimmerman, 1988), are ordered by social actors as those interactions are produced (Zimmerman, 1988, p. 415). To produce this order, members have available conversational machinery to allow for such activities as constructing meetings, plea-bargaining, making telephone calls and emergency telephone calls and greetings (Maynard, 1984, Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987, Shegloff, 1979). The aim of conversational analysis is to uncover the machinery, often taken for granted, by which members create an orderly world (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). As such, the method is ideal for untangling the regularities displayed in descriptions of newsworthiness during a news conference.[19]

In analyzing data, conversational analysts first look for and identify nontrivial patterns in talk. These patterns are nontrivial in that participants produce, describe and analyze them. For example, the editors in this study described the editors conference story reports as presenting the stories' newsworthiness features. Second, conversational analysts look for breaks in that order (Maynard, 1984, Sacks, Shegloff & Jefferson, 1974) and whether members repair those breaks. If, for example, the editors mentioned the story actor in describing story reports that would be a first indication that actors are important aspects of newsworthiness. But if the editors did not

mention the actor in any description and those descriptions were closed without comment, then that would indicate that actors were not an important part of newsworthiness. If the editors asked who (or what) the actors were, and did so routinely each time an actor was not mentioned, then those repairs would strongly indicate that actors are an essential aspect of producing a story description and hence of newsworthiness presentations.

Conversational analysts do not assume that members can consciously describe what machinery they are using. (As an analogy, people cannot consciously describe how memory works, even though they have a memory. In conversations, ethnomethodologists have found that people cannot describe how they construct conversations, even though they obviously have conversations and they know when a conversational practice is not being done correctly.) Instead the method relies on an examination of detailed transcripts. The transcripts attempt to preserve as many of the details of the members' utterances as possible. For example, the story report transcript "SR11 NE: (9.5) Pollensa says he's not going to qui:t" should be read as follows: The news editor (NE) pauses 9.5 seconds between the previous story report and this report. He then mispronounces (a pun) the Polish Solidarity leader's name and follows this mispronunciation with the rest of the report, "says he's not going to qui:t." The last word of the report "qui:t" has an elongated "i." (The conventions used in this analysis are in Appendix 1.) The detailed transcripts are considered necessary because both memory and intuition in generating data miss the richness, range and variety of real situations. Errors, false starts, hesitations and breath marks (such as I was surprI(hhhe)sed) often indicate significant conversational patterns (Maynard, 1984). Detailed transcripts allow

the researcher (and readers) repeatedly to examine similar sequences for the fleeting interactional details that form the complexity of ongoing interaction (Zimmerman, 1988). Furthermore, detailed transcripts allow readers direct access to the material in a way that is "open for inspection and scrutiny by others" (Atkinson & Drew, 1979). The transcripts are generally presented before the discussion to give the reader the option to examine the data independently.

In this study, the managing editor (ED), the news editor (NE), the city editor (CE), and the various other section editors met twice daily. The conference was divided into two sections. In the first, the editors presented lists of news story descriptions. In the second, the editors selected front-page stories. If the editors' descriptions of the news stories present the story's newsworthiness, the descriptions should directly and absolutely predict page placement for all stories, both those selected for the front page and those not selected.

In this study, I use conversational analytic techniques to isolate those regular, recurring features of the story descriptions that include both (a) describing newsworthiness categories and (b) looking for places where editors directly orient to these categories. I use these categories to assign page placement as indicated by the editors' descriptions. Finally, I compare expected page placement with actual story placement. (To guard against possible bias, expected placement is assigned before looking at the newspapers.)

The study newspaper was a Midwestern afternoon paper (29,000 to 30,000 circulation) with a strong liberal/progressive tradition. The paper produced two editions (10 a.m. and 12 noon). The transcripts were from 10 news conferences and originally included 143 story

descriptions. Of the original 143 story reports, the following were excluded from analysis: 12 progress reports that the editors described as incomplete, one post-conference report, one story that could not be transcribed, six follow stories, six second-mention stories, four side pieces, and two announcements of maps or charts.

This particular report is from an analysis of the inner-page event stories (87 total). The editors differed in their treatment of inner page, front-page, feature and oddity stories. The most basic report is the inner-page event stories. The other types of story reports are elaborations or abbreviations of the basic event form. Due to space limitations, only the event story reports are discussed here.

## Results

The editors routinely and systematically used four categories to arrange news stories on the newspaper pages: geographical level, size of impact, type of group, and conflict. Each of the categories included a hierarchically ranked series of elements. Stories with hierarchically higher-ranked elements were placed closer to the front page than stories with lower-ranked elements within the same category. The body of the first portion of the findings describes the newsworthiness categories and the elements within them and illustrate these with transcript examples. Because this essential material is fairly lengthy, the breaks in the routine are in the footnotes. Even though the breaks add important evidence that editors actively orient to the categories, they interrupt the flow of an already dense text.

INSERT TRANSCRIPTS HERE

Geographical area

The editors' descriptions regularly signal the geographical area affected by the story event, specifically whether the story is international, national, state, local, or local area. The editors use three different mechanisms to make this identification. First, for international and local area stories, the editors identify the area(s) involved by name: international (US and Syria, SR1, and US and Cuba, SR2) and local area (Shawano County, SR3). Second, the editors can use background knowledge associated with actors' level of authority to determine area. In SR4, the actor (Earl) is the state governor and so is automatically associated with the state level; Walensa is an internationally known Polish labor leader (SR5); and the Congress and Senate are national actors (SR6 and SR7). However, an accurate identification of location by actors' names also depends on knowledge of the city editor and news editors' jurisdictional powers.[20] When the news editor identifies the Senate (SR7) and Supreme Court (SR8) as actors, those stories report national-level events, while the same identifications from the city editor (SR9 and SR10) refer to state organizations. Given these mechanisms, the editors identified the geographical level in virtually all cases; when the identification was problematic, the listening editors asked for and received an explicit identification by level. (That is, the editors repaired the break).[21]

Group size

All the stories also include enough information to estimate the relative size of the groups affected: (a) individuals (bear who

killed Wisconsin guy, SR11, Torgunson and that photographer killed, SR12, kid that got killed in motorcycle accident, SR13, Middletown psychiatrist, SR14, public defender quits, SR15, premier balloonists killed, SR16); (b) relatively small groups/single organizations (patients of University and Methodist hospitals, SR17, U.S. embassy, SR18, Heilemen, SR19, families of missing MIAs, SR20); (c) large groups or sectors (poor and rural people affected by high phone bills, SR6, airplane industry and those people who ride airplanes, SR21, families of men who don't pay alimony, SR22,); and (d) everybody (all people in the state affected by the state budget, SR4, taxpayers, SR7, the nation as an entity, SR2).[22]

This category classification depends on the editors' using sense-making practices that are much less consensually defined than identifying geographical level. State stories are distinguished relatively easily from international stories. But the abortion issue (SR23) could be variously defined as a civil rights issue (affecting everybody), a women's issue (affecting a large sector of the population), a reproductive issue affecting those women who are of reproductive age (a relatively smaller group) or a fight among various, relatively limited interest groups, (pro-choice versus the right-to-life activists). In this particular category, editors' ideological slants could define the relative size of the group affected, and in this way could enter into page-placement practices. Furthermore, judging size is relative. Editors could make an infinite number of graduated decisions between sizes of groups. However, even if the absolute ranking of a particular story would change according to the size of a group judged to be affected by a particular issue or event or according to the sizes of groups in other stories in the news pool, the

actual machinery (using size of group) would not be affected.

Type of impact

All of the stories contain information that allow a relative estimate of change as definite, potential or no impact. Death stories are classic examples of definite change (motorcycle death, SR13, bear killed, SR11, balloonists killed, SR16, peacekeepers killed, SR24). Many stories that portray bureaucracies as actors also signify definite change: the Supreme Court ruling defines the limits under which the IRS can obtain information, SR8, Earl signs the budget, SR4, Senate passes the tax gap vote, SR7, federal regulations removed, SR25, rate increase approved, SR17, psychiatrist accused, SR14, and Heilaman fined, SR19. The changes in other cases are far more tentative. In the businessman (SR26) and Shultz (SR20) criticism stories, the actors can only suggest changes: the government could cut down on the amount of money spent and Vietnam should send back the bodies of Americans missing in action. The actors do not have the power to correct the problems identified in the story description.[23] In other reports, the actors have the authority, but they have not yet used it. The news editor describes the government as "wanting" to "get a way" to treat all seats with fire retardants (SR21), the U.S. government "hopes" to use Cuba's cracking down on hijackers to deter people from borrowing airplanes (SR2), the Congress is "talking" about developing "some kind" of subsidy program (SR6), the Senate is "nearing" a vote (SR23). Additionally, the editors signify the relative prospects for change: "not much hope in sight (SR1)," "sponsors still consider passage unlikely (SR23)."

The editors also can indicate that the event as described will have no change. In SR27, for example, the news editor's first complete utterance (lines 1-3) includes all of the categories isolated

for a complete story report, yet the news editor continues the report adding information that moves the story from potential to no impact.[24] The news editor's additional description demonstrates both that the editors can manipulate the impact classification and that they will do work to do so. The editor's additional work also indicates that editors orient toward impact, another indication that impact is an important feature of establishing newsworthiness. Finally, the editors do not close a story report description when the type of impact is unclear, instead they work to clarify the type of impact.[25]

Conflict

Most (although not all, see SR25) descriptions include some association with conflict. The news editor and city editors' descriptions include death (bear tracked down and killed, SR11, kid killed in cycle accident, SR13, premier balloonists killed, SR16, and French peacekeepers killed, SR24); physical conflict (U.S. navy intercepting Libyan jets, SR29, shots and rockets fired at U.S. embassy, SR18); and violent emotional conflict (delegates to the international peace conference "condemned" the United States, SR28, Secretary of State Shultz describes Vietnam as "cruel and heartless" for withholding remains of US servicemen killed in action, SR20, and, on a less intense level, League of Women Voters "disappointed," SR30). The editors' story descriptions also include bureaucratic conflict which is an institutional feature of legal (Supreme Court, SR8, SR10, SR15, SR19), legislative (Senate, SR7, SR23, SR9), and law enforcement systems (authorities, SR3). The editors also regularly added associations with old conflict (e.g., the budget was a focus of legislative conflict, SR4, Bloblock was at the center of all the battles, SR15, airplane fires, SR21, old associations with the Vietnam

war, SR20), ongoing conflict (hijackings, SR2, the Middle East war, SR1) and future conflict (upcoming fight over Reagan's certification in the human rights stance in El Salvador, SR32, the U.S. navy provoking another incident with the Libyans, SR29).

The editors routinely use story categories in all story descriptions. Furthermore the editors consistently and directly orient to these categories in that they work to include them. When the rankings within the categories are omitted or unclear, the editors request clarification before moving to the next story report. The editors have some flexibility in presenting each category. They can add conflict (or conflict associations), designate story impact (move the story from potential impact to no impact), add information that changes geographical location (such as adding information making the story a local story) and add or suppress information that would redefine narrow groups into larger groups or smaller groups into larger groups. However, once those descriptions are formulated, the descriptions systematically indicate page placement on the newspaper pages.

Description of placement practices

The news editor arranges all international-, national- and state-level stories that he has claimed jurisdiction over in the first section of the newspaper;[26] the city editor arranges the state, local and local area stories in the city section of the paper.[27] The editors use a geographical concentric ordering of "closer to us" in placing international, national, state, local area and city stories. The news editor generally places national stories closer to the front page[28] than international stories; the city editor generally places city stories closer to the front page than state and local stories (see

Table 1).

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INSERT TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE

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The editors used the type of impact (definite, potential and no impact) to arrange placement within the city and the national sections. The editors used more stories and placed them higher (closer to the front page) than stories that they described as potentially changing a situation. Of the 21 story descriptions in the news conference during the first day of taping, the editors placed seven of the 11 stories that they described as definitely changing a situation on pages one through three. Of the nine potential impact stories, the editors placed three of the stories (all stories that potentially affected everybody) on page three or higher, used two on page four, and did not use four (see Table 2).

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INSERT TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE

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When the stories are separated into groups with the same type of change and location (see Table Three), the editors generally placed stories that were described as affecting everybody higher than stories that were described as affecting smaller groups. For example, of the nine national, state and city stories in Table 3 with potential impact, the editors placed the two potential impact stories that affected everybody on page one, while stories that described events that affected smaller groups were placed on subsequent pages. The editors also placed stories with intense physical or emotional conflict higher than would otherwise be expected and stories with no conflict lower

than would otherwise be expected.

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INSERT TABLE THREE ABOUT HERE

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Of the 87 story descriptions, geographic location, size of group and type of impact predicted relative placement for all but 20 story reports. The influence of conflict predicted 14 of the 20 exceptions. (Intense conflict stories were placed higher than would otherwise be expected. No conflict stories were placed lower than would otherwise be expected.) Of the remaining six exceptions, other changes in the story description explained four,[29] leaving three unexplainable.[30]

## Conclusion

The editors follow rigid codes to systematically and routinely organize page placement. Their conversational machinery used in describing newsworthiness includes signaling geographical area, size of group, type of impact and conflict. Within each category, the editors rank the individual elements in hierarchical order between stories, placing stories that are "closer to us," deal with larger groups, have definite impact, and feature intense physical and emotional conflict closer to the front page than stories that are "farther from us," deal with smaller groups, and feature less definite change and associated conflict. The categories are content-free; any number of representational forms with either conservative or radical formulations of events could be arranged using this machinery. That is, a Marxist or alternative newspaper could use the same encoding mechanisms to decide placement as easily and in the same manner as more mainstream papers such as The New York Times or the Chicago Tribune.

However, some aspects would change between the various papers. Alternative papers could very well have a different assessment of probable impact of a presidential statement than more conservative papers. Feminist-leaning papers would be more likely to judge a particular story affecting women as affecting a relatively large sector, while a more conservative, traditional paper could assess such a story as affecting "just women."

The encoding procedures depend on journalists using background typifications (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973) to assess the relative size and type of impact. Over long time periods, journalists at the same paper probably come to use the same background assessments. In fact, a part of learning newspaper policy might very well be learning how to assess the category placement of specific groups and impact. (The journalists would use similar practices to determine type of conflict and geographical area, but, as argued earlier, these categories are probably more universally stable: an axe murder <u>is</u> intense physical conflict, and a story that affects several nations <u>is</u> an international story regardless of political affiliation.)

During the last decade, the importance of such traditional news norms and values as conflict, impact, group size and geographical area have declined. Both organizational and Cultural Studies theorists have made strong arguments that other aspects of the news process -- particularly that hegemonic codes guide selection of representational forms and that the news is a product of organizational routines -- are more important than news norms in determining news production. This analysis restores news values to a more coherent and consistent position in news flow. As described, news norms are not simply orientations that journalists may or may not consider for any

particular story as implied by Sigal's and Gans's work; news norms are not mere justification mechanisms or occasionally used frames as implied by Lester's analysis, news norms are not simply an artifact of organizational routines as implied by an extension of Tuchman's study. News stories are not completely framed by shared notions about what a story is or the routines of placing reporters at specific beats.

Instead this analysis indicates that while news norms may not be written down, they are codified. News values are systematic organizational devices that journalists use to construct, define and justify a story's placement, and, in this case, norms and values are used in each and every placement. The encoding process is, as suggested by both the cultural studies and the organizational theorists, a consensual product of journalists' sense-making work, but, within page placement, the parameters are rigidly defined. The picture of news norms, as derived from this study, is that of a regularly recurring set of practices which are relatively precise in terms of specifing catagories, but are relatively content-free in that they could potentially allow for a wide range of ideological flexibility.

How, then, does this description of news norms align with the previous descriptions of the news process? What follows is a tentative description of the news selection looking at a broader time span in the life of a story: The overall process seems best explained by a looking at news selection as a set of sequential stages which differ at each point in the process. First, organizations place reporters at those sites which generate a constant supply of news (Hall, Connell & Carti, 1977, Sigal, 1973, Epstein, 1973, Tuchman, 1978). Journalists share frames which indicate what stories are most important with those groups they regularly contact. Journalists adopt the categories used by the

wire services (Whitney & Becker, 1982); beat reporters adopt the definitions of importance used by the bureaucracies they cover (Dunwoody, 1981, Fishman, 1978, 1980, 1981); and pack reporters guide each other's definition of what news is important (Dunwoody, 1981, Crouse, 1973). Within the newsroom, journalists share background knowledge of what stories their newspaper wants (Breed, 1955), even at entry-level (Sigelman, 1973); of how to technically process stories (Hall, 1972), and of the important story types (Tuchman, 1978).

To place stories, journalists use the encoding procedures described above to determine how one story should be placed in relationship to another story. At this point in the process, the representational codes and story frames have relatively minor effect, if any. This effect is obscured in background interpretations of relative size and relative effect. The regularity of the machinery supports journalists' claims that they decide page placement based on objective factors and the story's newsworthiness factors. Journalists do, in fact, decide placement based on newsworthiness descriptions. Nevertheless, this newsworthiness machinery applies to the last stage of news production -- placement.

The encoding procedures have practical value in news room work. Juggling the large number of stories on the newspaper pages is a massive technical problem. But the machinery of news placement is an effective utilitarian tool, highly flexible, that allows editors to rapidly and easily distinguish between various stories and make a practical, reasonable and justifiable (normatively accountable) decision about placement.

While this study outlines a general machinery for page placement which could allow for a wide range of representational forms,

the model is based on a limited number of samples from one newspaper and shares all of the weaknesses of a case study. Yet three lines of evidence suggest that the machinery may be more widely utilized. One is the inherent flexibility of the machinery itself and its general similarity to more widely used common sense reasoning forms.[31] Second, the flexibility of journalists, and their high mobility patterns (Johnston, Slawski & Bowman, 1976), suggests that journalists use similar common sense reasoning patterns between newspapers, although they adapt to particular policy patterns depending on the particular paper they work for (Breed, 1955). Third, the machinery also reflects many (although not all) of the content-free factors journalists used in making selection decisions between experimentally constructed stories (Ward et al., 1973). Nevertheless, however plausible, until replicated on other newspapers, the generalizability of the machinery remains tentative.

1. Agenda setting is more influential for issues and items that individuals don't personally experience. Issues and events that the media completely ignore do not register on the public agenda (Rogers & Dearing, 1988). Graber found that people absorb information from news reports, although they don't necessarily adopt the story perspective (Graber, 1984).

2. Breed (1955) mentions story placement, specifically "burying" a story which does not support (or goes counter to) newspaper policy on the inside (lower position) of the newspaper pages; editors' power to lower placement also acts as a powerful press to force journalists to adopt newspaper policy. Altheide (1985) also uses page placement as an indication of news policy in his study of U.S. coverage in Iran. Sigal (1973) and Tuchman (1978) mention that the editors conference -- a regular meeting during which editors of various sections of the ewspaper decide which stories will be the front-page story of the day -- has the intra-organizational objective of reducing competition between editors; it also standardizes policy. Tuchman (1978) also argues that the editors conference "ultimately codes" the merit of occurrence as news and that the "assessment of newsworthiness is a negotiated phenomenon." Although the exact process by which this coding is done is not specified in detail, she argues that this coding is not an "objective hierarchical ordering of news stories by importance, significance, and interest ... and the number of persons an occurrence would potentially affect."

3. Since the major focus of this paper is on how news story placement is shaped within the newspaper -- an examination of the norms and values that guide this process -- the wire service studies and studies that examine category topic similarity will not be examined in detail. These studies have moved from concentrating on individual journalists' discretionary powers (White, 1950) to concentrating on systematic constraints to produced news. A series of research reports (McCombs and Shaw, Gold and Simmons, 1965), including a reanalysis of White's original gatekeeper study (Snider, 1967), found that when the news was divided into content categories, the amount of news the editors used from each category closely correlated with the amount of material originally presented in the wire service package.

Some studies have argued that the similarities of judgments could be due to similarities between editors' news values, but most were primarily concerned with whether the editors' choices paralleled wire service categories, not the specific processes that produced these similarities. (The exception to this general approach is Whitney and Becker's (1982) study which found that the editors' choices tended to reflect the categories presented in experimentally varied wire news mixes, indicating that the editors' choices were influenced by the presented categories rather than paralleling independently similar news judgment patterns between wire editors and wire services.)

Researchers found little difference among the mix of news packages (Riffe, et.al. 1986), that media carry the most prominent stories of the day (but vary on local stories) (Sasser & Russel, 1972), and that newspapers duplicate individual story lines such as Watergate (Capo, 1983) and Iran (Altheide, 1985).

4. The dominant hegemony research tradition is based on grouping several different strands of research: discourse analysis, Cultural Studies, aspects of Gitlin's and Tuchman's work, and Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model among others.

5. Most of the research from this perspective uses textual analysis of individual photographs, interviews, articles, or case studies (But see, Chang, 1988). The mass weight of this research indicates that journalists select systematic themes and that these themes support dominant definitions as opposed to alternative readings. However, the theoretical orientation, an emphasis on the hegemonic codes, leads these researchers in another direction than examining more precisely exactly how journalistic norms and values operate in practice. In fact, the emphasis on textual analysis collapses all of news production into a final product, a form of black box analysis that can only conjure the processes behind the product.

6. A series of constraints tend to reinforce the operation of these codes. One, the high entry level costs of producing news and the dependence of news production on advertising revenues and airtime assures a limited number of media outlets and that these outlets will favor the present economic systems. Second, the arrangement of time and space, most particularly placing news reporters at those sites which guarentee a routine flow of news (government agencies) favors the codes of those sites. Three, journalists share the codes of the dominant groups.

7. These format considerations include using journalistic style, writing a "good" lead, attributing information correctly, using balance, and stressing (depending on the story frame) violence or sentimentality.

8. In routine operations, journalists do not present themes which challenge dominant definitions.

9. Hall and others do not assign any systematic role to these norms that is more detailed than a reference to such norms as "not written down," not "codified."

10. Epstein for example stresses various constraints on the organization while Gans delves much more deeply than most into the shared values and orientations of journalists in the news-making process.

11. Altheide does not strongly make these claims, although he suggests that social ties between the more powerful news workers or owners influence news production.

12. Various representational values listed are: parochialism, suspicion of politicians (Epstein, 1973), ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small town pastoralism, individualism, moderation, desirability of social order and the need for national leadership (Gans, 1979).

13. The traditional news values are: timeliness, conflict and drama, big names, change, deviance and novelty, film value and technical considerations, context and integration, humorous and heartwarming stories, and impact on nations and large numbers of people.

14. Any value is part of a set of interpretive devices which journalists can draw on to frame a story's newsworthiness for a given occasion -- such as argue for a particular story's usability. Since a journalist can use any (or all) of the values in the code to set the frame (and since another journalist can use another value to reframe the story), news values are simply part of journalists' repertory of devices to make their work appear reasonable, rational, and normatively acceptable. The frame does, however, establish the story's newsworthiness for that particular stage of the news process.

15. These routines also include the search for stories which fit traditional story types such as another fire story, another budget story and so on.

16. These factors were derived from journalism textbooks and journalists' claims of what values underlay news judgment.

17. This is measured by the number of U.S. tourists, ethnic affinity of journalists to these countries, and so on.

18. For excellent reviews of conversational analysis methodology, see: Zimmerman, 1988, Heritage, 1984.

19. Most conversational analytic work describes the turn-by-turn sequencing machinery which orders conversations, such as the practices which constitute an orderly transfer from one topic to another in conversations. (Maynard, 1987, Maynard, 1984, Psathas, 1979, Schenkein, 1978, Heritage, 1984, Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). However, a second, less well developed strain (Sacks, 1974, Sacks, 1978, Schegloff, 1979), describes membership categories which allow members to recognize and maintain sociological descriptions (Corsaro, 1985) such as recognizing categories (cf., family relationships) and their constitutive elements (cf., parent, child).

20. The city editor reports state, local and local area stories and the news editor reports international and national stories.

21.ED: What's that diet thing you were talking about (.6)
AE: Oh yeah that's ah (1.8) I think it's aa (.8) LA Times er no it's th'the: (.5) Chicago Sentinel (1.4) erb big scandal story about the big scandal scam in diet (1.8) er.er is that the one I read out loud ta ya
ED: Yeah I think so
AE: Yeah (4.2)
ED: Iszat na'nationwide? er is they talking about Chicago er?
AE: No nationwide[6] (12.5)

In the above example, the managing editor refers to a discussion of a story given before the editors conference. Once the story was identified, the managing editor requests an identification by level. Similarly in the story example below, an associate editor (JH) asks for an identification by level following the initial story report.

CD: (4.4) All right the public defender (.2) Dave Blobleck (.6) is quitting (1.6) awh (.3) he's been public defender since seventy nine (.9) there's no (.6) at least in the wire story there's no (1.4) big scandal or anything he's just tired (.3) wants to do something else (.3)
JH: State guy
CE: Yeah (1.6) the head of the program (.3) he's been you know all the battles (.3) he's been at the center of all the battles (.3) he's been at the center of all these battles for the funding and all the cuts (1.4) personal stuff

22. Editors associate taxpayers with "everybody" explicitly.

23. Vietnam did return several of the bodies.

24. If taken seriously, the president's words could have great influence over the Justice Department (potential impact). If the filching story had developed in the same fashion as Watergate, another presidential scandal story involving pre-election misbehavior, the incident could have affected the national as a whole. [There is direct evidence that the editors do make this connection (Author, 1987)]. Furthermore, the story as a whole is associated with conflict (discussed below), both the legal conflict of Reagan's campaign officials having illegally obtained Carter's briefing notes and the conflict between Reagan supporters and criticizers.

25.CE: Matt also says he expects to have a story by the fi:nal (.2) from the Taxpayers Alliance (.6) saying that the state is already

withholding enough money to cover the (.6) surcharge [for the next couple months] (4.8) We got the Kids' Fund

ED: You wanta tell me what the hell that's all about (.3) it doesn't make any sense (.6)

CE: Do you know the state's overwithholds (.4) on your paycheck?

ED: Yea::h (.6)

CE: Jim Morgan (.4) apparently is putting together numbers which (.9) he thinks will show that the state (.3) is overwithholding enough so they don't have to withhold more (1.2) on the surcharge

ED: So (6.2) they are going to withhold another ten percent? (1.0)

CE: Well they're PLANning to but maybe (.2) this will (.8)

In the Taxpayers Alliance story, the managing editor describes the story report as confusing. The city editor responds by redescribing the original report. Following that redescription, the managing editor specifically requests a clarification of the event's impact ("are they going to withhold another ten percent?"). The city editor's subsequent response identifies the story event as potentially affecting the tax surcharge ("Well they're PLANning to but maybe (.2) this will (.8))." After the impact is clarified, the city editor moves to the next story report.

26. The paper was divided into several sections: national and international news (the first section), city (state, area and city news), sports and lifestyle. Only the news editor and the city editor presented story reports in the news conference.

27. The editors took jurisdictional claims seriously. Editors would occasionally offer to "give" another editor a story, tell other editors that they could "have" a story if they wanted it, or occasionally request a story or a picture from another editor. Once an editor claimed a story, that story was his or hers until formally relinquished. (In one case the news editor put considerable pressure on an assistant city editor to relinquish a photo which he wanted for the front page layout. She refused despite repeated requests for the picture.)

28. The geographical preferences are also shown in the editors construction of the news description, in that, without further identification, the news editor's stories are presumed to be national (not international) stories and the city editor's stories are presumed to be state or city stories.

29. For example, stories that were connected to other news stories in the editors conference were placed in the relative position indicated by the story with the highest possible placement. Expected placement

was assigned by dividing stories according to editors' jurisdiction, and arranging the stories by type of impact and group size and indicating whether the stories would be placed higher or lower than otherwise expected by conflict type. Changes that would be expected from other alterations in the story descriptions such as the editors connecting two or more story descriptions together were also noted, including whether these changes would affect relative placement.

30. One story report moved from explained to unexplained when adjusted for conflict.

31. Schegloff (1972) found that members commonly use a geographic ordering of "closer to us" in utilizing reference forms. In telling stories, members routinely include size of groups and importance to us.

Table 1. Story Placement by Geographic Level--Day One of Taping, First Session

| Level | Placement, page no. |
|---|---|
| National | 1 |
| National | 1 |
| National | 3 |
| National | Not used |
| National | Not used |
| National | Not used |
| National | 3 |
| State: Wisconsin | 2 |
| State: Wisconsin | 2 |
| United States and other nations | 4 |
| Other nation | 4 |
| Other nation | 5 |
| Other nation | Not used |
| State: Wisconsin | 1 |
| State: Wisconsin | 21 (4)[a] |
| State: Wisconsin | Not used |
| State: Wisconsin | Not used |
| Middletown | 19 (2)[a] |
| Middletown | 19 (2)[a] |
| Local area | 20 (3)[a] |
| Local area | 21 (4)[a] |

[a]The city editor stories are in a separate section of the newspaper, and local and state stories are transferred from the front page to the first page of that section. The first page of the city editor section actually represented the second highest possible page placement for a city editor story. The potential page placement for city editor stories is indicated in parentheses after the actual page placement.

Table 2. Story Placement in Relationship to Type of Impact -- Day One of Taping, First Session

| Impact type | Placement, page no. |
|---|---|
| Definite | 1 |
| Definite | 1 |
| Definite | 2 |
| Definite | 2 |
| Definite | 3 |
| Definite | 4 |
| Definite | 5 |
| Definite | 19 (2)[a] |
| Definite | 20 (3)[a] |
| Definite | 21 (4)[a] |
| Definite | Used later |
| Potential | 1 |
| Potential | 19 (2)[a] |
| Potential | 21 (4)[a] |
| Potential | 3 |
| Potential | 4 |
| Potential | Not used |
| Potential | Not used |
| Potential | Not used |
| Potential | Not used |
| No impact | Not used[b] |

[a]The city editor stories are in a separate section of the newspaper, and local and state stories are transferred from the front page to the first page of that section. The first page of the city editor section actually represented the second highest possible page placement for a city editor story. The potential page placement for city editor stories is indicated in parentheses after the actual page placement.

[b]The story information was used the next day when the no impact story was put in the last paragraph of a story with impact.

Table 3. Story Placement by Size of Impact Group, Level, Type of Impact, and Conflict -- Day One of Taping, First Session

| Level | Impact group size | Type of impact | Conflict[a] | Placement, page no. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| National | | | | |
| | Everybody | Definite | C | 1 |
| | Everybody | Definite | C | 1 |
| | Identifiable segment | Definite | C | 3 |
| State | | | | |
| | Known agency | Definite | C | 2 |
| | Business | Definite | C | Used Later |
| | Individual | Definite | PC | 2 |
| National | | | | |
| | Everybody | Potential | C | 3 |
| | Everybody | Potential | C | Not used |
| | Sector | Potential | C | Not used |
| International | | | | |
| | Poland | Definite | C | 4 |
| | Poland | Definite | C | 5 |
| | United States | Potential | EC | 4 |
| | Poland/Reagan | Potential | C | Not Used |
| Local and State | | | | |
| | Known business | Definite | C | 19 (2)[b] |
| | Several individuals | Definite | C | 20 (2)[b] |
| | Individual | Definite | C | 21 (3)[b] |
| | Everybody | Potential | EC | 1 |
| | Everybody | Potential | C | 19 (2)[b] |
| | Everybody | Potential | NC | 21 (3)[b] |
| | Sector (farmers) | Potential | C | Not Used |
| | Known agency | No impact | C | Not used |

[a]This column indicates type of conflict: associated with conflict (C), emotional conflict (EC), physical conflict (PC), or no conflict (NC).
[b]The first page of the city editor section is the second highest possible page placement for a city story. The potential page placement is indicated in parentheses after the actual page placement.

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## APPENDIX ONE
Transcribing Conventions [a]

| | Example | | Explanation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | A: | Oh you do? Really | A left hand bracket marks the point of overlap, while a right hand bracket indicates where overlapping talk ends. |
| | B: | Uhmm | |
| 2. | B: | That's how I felt- | Equal signs indicate "latching" i.e., no interval between the end of a prior utterance and the start of a next. |
| | A: | -Really | |
| 3. | A: | And I'm not use ta | Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in tenths of seconds. |
| | | that (1.4) | |
| | B: | Yeah me neither | |
| 4. | A: | People would say I'm from Marin ( ) County | Parentheses without a number indicate a small pause (less than one-tenth second). |
| 5. | A: | Are they? | Ellipses indicated where part of an utterance is left out of the transcript. |
| | B: | Uh huh they are | |
| | | because... | |
| 6. | A: | It was unbelievable. | Punctuation markers are not used as grammatical symbols but for intonation. |
| | | I had a three point | Thus a question may be constructed with "comma" or "period" intonation |
| | | six? I think. | and "question intonation" may occur in association with words which |
| | B: | You did. | are not questions. |
| 7. | B: | I did oka::y | The colons indicate that the prior syllable is prolonged. The more colons, the longer the prolongation. |
| 8. | A: | That's where I | Capital letters indicate various forms of stressing, and may |
| | | REALLY want to go | involve pitch and/or volume. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | A: | I told them that there was-well there IS a job opening. | The dash indicates a "cut off" of the prior word or sound. |
| 10. | B: | Thaht was really neat. | The "h" within a word or sound indicates explosive aspiration, e.g., laughter, breathlessness, etc. |
| 11. | A: | Well (cough) I don't know. | Materials in braces indicate features of the transcripts other than actual verbalization. |
| 12. | B: | [Is that right] | Materials in single brackets indicate transcribers are not sure about words contained therein. If no material is within the parentheses, none of the talk was decipherable. |
| 13. | 3.1 | A: Ok I've got | Numbers before the period "3." indicate a distinct transcript unit. Numbers after the period ".1" indicate the line unit. |
| | 3.2 | a two part | |
| | 3.3 | series on that | |
| 14. | ED: | | Managing editor |
| | CE: | | City editor |
| | NE: | | News editor |
| | TE: | | Temporary Assistant City editor |

[a]Adapted from Douglas W. Maynard. 1984. Inside Plea Bargaining: The Language of Negotiation. New York: Plenum Press.

TRANSCRIPTS

| Story Report Number | Story Report |
|---|---|
| SR1 | NE: Shultz meeting with the Syrians today to try and (.5) work out some kind of agreement (1.4) not much hope in sight (2.4) |
| SR2 | NE: Cubans have (.2) let the United States government know that they're beginning to crack down on hijackers. That they're gonna (.2) start throwing them in prison again which the (.2) U.S. government hopes to u:se (.2) to try to deter the (.8) the uh (.5) hijackers (7.4) |
| SR3 | CE: (1.4) Posse (.6) two stories on the posse this morning (1.2) the (.6) authorities in Shawano County are (.8) they're beginning to move to (.8) close down this compound where all the trailers are because it's not entitled to any (1.2) zoning (Story report continued) |
| SR4 | CE: Uuhm got Earl signing the budget (1.2) |
| SR5 | NE: (9.5) Pollensa (Walesa) says he's not going to qui:t |
| SR6 | NE: That (.8) there are (.8) ta there's talk in Congress (.3) of (1.3) developing some kind of (.2) subsidy program (1.4) fo::r the poor and rural people who are beset by high phone bills (.3) |
| SR7 | NE: The: (.2) vote on the tax gap (.9) is at nine o'clock (.4) [....] Senate's expected to (.3) defeat it which means everyone's goin to get their (.2) tax cut on time (1.4) [...] |
| SR8 | NE: Supreme Court's uhm in their ruling again today said that the IRS is not uh allowed to have grand jury information (.8) |
| SR9 | CE: Well the marital property reform bill cleared it through (.9) committee yesterday on a three to two vote (.4) will now go to the floor of the (.6) Senate to be overhauled |
| SR10 | CE: The Supreme Court is hearing oral arguments on Fitchburg (.7) this morning (.2) probably won't be (.2) a whole lot (.2) substantively to report on that but (1.5) |

SR11 NE: The (.3) bear who killed Wisconsin guy (1.2) tracked down and killed

SR12 NE: El Salvador (1.6) the Honduran army intelligence chief says that (1.2) Torgerson and that photographer we.were not killed by gunfire but (.2) by mines that had been planted in the roadway (1.3) um (4.4)

SR13 CE: (6.4) Uhmn (.8) the [kid] this (.2) kid that got killed in the cycle accident uhm (2.6) outside the rain tracks and everything

SR14 ED: Who is was said doctored her in this oh
CE: Middletown psychiatrist accused by the Medical Examining Board of unprofessional conduct for allegedly having sex with a female patient during the therapy sessions in his office (.5) the guy's name is William Wood (1.2) thirty-nine (1.4) the patient was thirty-eight (1.4) therapy went on from nineteen seventy nine to nineteen eighty-one (8.2) looks like a good story (1.8)

SR15 CD: (4.4) All right the public defender (.2) Dave Blobleck (.6) is quitting (1.6) awh (.3) he's been public defender since seventy nine (.9) there's no (.6) at least in the wire story there's no (1.4) big scandal or anything he's just tired (.3) wants to do something else (.3)
JH: State guy
CE: Yeah (1.6) the head of the program (.3) he's been you know all the battles (.3) he's been at the center of all the battles (.3) he's been at the center of all these battles for the funding and all the cuts (1.4) personal stuff

SR16 NE: The (.6) two (.6) premier ballonnists in the United States got killed (2.8) Speculation is that they were desperately trying to get down before they crossed (.3) the (.3) border into the (.6) eastern block countries (4.2)

SR17 CE: (2.4) And there were un (.3) small (.8) in relative rate increases for University and Methodist hospitals was approved yesterday four and five percent (10.8) that's all for now

SR18 NE: Uuhn (.3) shots and uhn rockets fired on the US embassy in El Salvador

SR19 CE: (3.6) Uuuh babababababa what else have we got? (.9) Heileman (1.1) Sentinel has a story that (.4) Heileman got uhh (2.4) zapped for some nine hundred thousand dollars (.6) on the Securities and Exchange Commission for (1.3) apparently from some improper inside trading on stock (.2) sales during their (.3) period of all the different mergers. (.6) the highest (.8) settlement (3.6) the F-T-C on any of these (.3) deals

SR20 NE: Secretary of State Shultz saying that Vietnam Vietnam is withholding remains of Americans killed in war (.5) on purpose (.9) describes as cruel and heartless action (1.8)

SR21 NE: Uhm (1.4) aircraft fires (.6) government wants to (1.6) get a [...] way [?] all (.8) seats in (.3) commercial U.S. aircraft are treated with flame and smoke retardants. (.3) Ahh the airlines are saying this is (.5) two to three years down the road (2.3)

SR22 NE: (1.6) Uuuhm the Post has a story saying that (.2) more than half (.9) of the men in the United States legally obligated to (.3) obligated to (.5) pay alimony or child support are in default (.8) at this point (1.4)

SR23 NE: Senate nearing a vote (.9) on the abortion issue (.4) Sponsors still considering passage unlikely (5.3)

SR24 NE: Uh two french peacekeepers killed in Beirut today (.6) in a building collapse (6.6)

SR25 NE: The (.6) federal regulations are removing all (.2) interest rate ceilings (.2) and minimum ad'dePOSit limits on savings accounts (1.0) with terms of more than thirty-one days (.4) effective (.2) October first (1.1) that affects your (.2) six-month (.2) money market certificates (.2) and eighteen month (.8) (IRA Keough) (.3) devices (4.4)

SR26 NE: (2.6) Another one of those studies (.6) groups (.4) of businessmen saying that the government could save (.6) a hundred thirty-seven billion dollars in three years by closing unneeded military bases, selling hydroel. electric plants, and generally cutting inefficiency.

SR27

NE: Uh (.3) Reagan said today (1.4) He's asking the Justice Department to (.3) act vigorously in the (.6) filching case (1.4) Uhn (.3) reporter asked Speakes (.6) if that means (.4) that (1.2) the (1.1) Justice Department will be doing anything that they are not now doing and (.3) Speakes said (.1) well not they're doing everything they're supposed to be doing so naturally (.6) that (1.2)

SR28

NE: (2.8) Delegates to the international peace conference (.4) uhm wrapped up yesterday umm (.4) with the condemnation of the United States as the chief culprit (.7) in the arms race (1.4)

SR29

NE: (7.2) Uhm (1.2) US navy and Libyans are at it (.6) in the Mediterranean (.8)
ED: Uh what's happening now (.5) Libyans a buzzing (.4) uhn ships 22.4 or what
Libyans sent some jets out it turns out yesterday according to sources:: (.6) and the navy intercepted 'em (.5) as they were approaching (.3) the aircraft carrier Eisenhower (.6) apparently without shots being fired (2.1) uhna (1.4) the navy has moved back into that disputed area (1.4) setten themselves up ta provoke another incident (.3)

SR30

CE: The league of women voters (1.2) says (.4) it's disappointment (.6) governor earl's didn't veto the cluster provision in the budget (1.2)

SR31

NE: Civilian deaths in El Salvador is (2.5) pointing to apparently another (.3) fight over REagans uh (.3) certification in the human rights stance in El Salvador (.6) the next certification comes ud (.2) July twentish (3.1)